

Information Digest



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1. OCTOBER COMMENT

Mau Mau may be explained, but it cannot be defended. Until it is put down there will be little disposition among British people to question the extent of the emergency powers assumed by the Kenya Government. Criminals cannot be brought to justice by judicial means alone unless witnesses will give evidence against them in court. In times of civil commotion, as in war, a government may have to suspend some of the rights of its people in order to preserve other rights still more precious. When a fully representative government so decides, its decision is accepted willingly. Naturally, however, such a decision by a government not popularly elected commands less confidence. For this reason it is reassuring that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has stated that "the power to deport persons from the country to which they belong will not be used, save in exceptional circumstances", and that, following the example of his predecessor, he has issued a direction to the Governors of Colonial territories, other than those of Malaya and Gibraltar, requiring them to seek the authority of the Secretary of State whenever they propose to exercise that power. For the same reason it is to be hoped that the Kenya Government will enlist the services of those African political leaders who recognise the necessity for re-establishing law and order. The Government is to be congratulated on the programme of social and economic reforms which the new Governor has announced; these show its desire not only to quell unrest but to remove some of its causes. Let it not, however, stop there. The following excerpts from Miss Margery Perham's brilliant article in "The Times" of October 28th apply no less to Kenya than to Africa as a whole: "Even beneficence can have a crushing effect upon those whose greatest needs are for self-expression and self-respect"; "The problem is, above all, one of political psychology".

In strong contrast to the violence of Mau Mau is the admirable orderliness still preserved by the strikers in the Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia and by those conducting the passive resistance movement in the Union. (It does not seem that the tragic riot in Port Elizabeth was connected with this movement.) Christian Action (2 Amen Court, London, E.C.4.) has started a "South Africa Fund", to give help, where needed, to the families and dependents of those Africans, Indians and Coloured people who have been imprisoned for non-violent resistance to discriminatory laws in South Africa. Lady Pakenham and the writer have joined with others in making an appeal for this fund.

The Rev. Michael Scott has gone to the meeting of the United Nations, and we look forward to publishing his comments in a later number of this digest. The Union's claim that other nations have no right to interfere in its inter-racial problems may be legally correct, as the British Government seems to think; but is there not a distinction between interference and discussion? And, in a world shrunken by the speed of modern communications, is it not necessary to discuss problems that have repercussions far beyond one nation's boundaries?

Another contrast that may be seen in this number of the digest is in the tone of statements made by two Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, impressing upon his hearers the gravity of the matter, has made a careful statement on future constitutional development in his country. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, answering a question about the African Affairs Board, suggested in the Federation proposals of which he is an author, has stated that it reminds him of "Gilbert and Sullivan without the music", and that if it were found to be serving no useful purpose it could be got rid of.

Hemingford.

2. THE USE OF EMERGENCY POWERS IN THE COLONIES

The original emergency powers assumed by the Government of Kenya were very wide indeed. For example, registrars appointed by the Government were given complete discretion to refuse or withdraw a licence for any printing press, subject only to an appeal to the Governor-in-Council. This means in effect that the Executive were given an almost unlimited right of censorship over all publications in the Colony. Secondly, all societies and organisations were made subject to a similar control. A registrar can refuse to register a local society if satisfied that it is affiliated to any organisation or group of a similar nature established outside the colony. He could, for example, prevent the setting up of a branch of the Labour, Liberal or Conservative Party, or of the Africa Bureau, or the Proportional Representative Society.

The most sweeping power of all, however, was contained in the ordinance which provided for the admission in evidence of statements made to police officers by unidentified persons. As the ordinance originally stood, a person might be condemned to a long period of imprisonment simply on two such statements alone. It is satisfactory that Mr. Oliver Lyttelton should have persuaded the Kenya Government to modify this position and to make necessary some form of independent corroboration. But what is disturbing is that this ordinance should ever have been published in its original form. Some Colonial Governments are extremely prone to use any disturbance or act of terrorism as an excuse for the adoption of emergency powers which go far beyond what the occasion demands.

For example, after the riots in 1948 the Gold Coast Government took power by an emergency regulation to intern suspects without charge or trial, and provided that a court of law might not even entertain an application calling in question the legality of the detention. This provision, which went further even than the wartime powers in the United Kingdom, was emphatically condemned by the Watson Commission. It would be easy to find other examples.

The whole question of emergency powers in the Crown Colonies and other dependent territories needs looking into. There is a startling difference between one territory and another. For example, in some colonies a man threatened with a deportation order may go before a court, or at least have some form of judicial investigation. In others, he can be banished simply by the ipse dixit of the Governor or Resident.*

The Universal Charter of Human Rights, which successive British Governments profess to accept, lays it down that the fundamental liberties, such as freedom from arbitrary arrest or exile, should be maintained in dependent territories no less than in metropolitan countries. If this provision were in fact carried out in the British Colonial Empire there would need to be an enormous bonfire of so-called emergency powers.

By a leading English Barrister

* The Times, (Oct 23, 52) reported Mr. LYTTELTON'S written reply in the House of Commons "that the review of deportation powers in colonial territories has been completed. The power to deport persons from the territory to which they belong will not be used save in exceptional circumstances. My predecessor issued an administrative direction to the Governors of certain territories requiring them to seek the authority of the Secretary of State whenever they proposed to exercise that power. I am issuing a similar direction to all the other territories concerned except the Federation of Malaya and Gibraltar, where for obvious reasons it would be unwise to restrict the power to order immediate removals. My predecessor also asked Colonial Governments which had not already done so to provide by legislation that judicial process should normally be obligatory before a British subject or British protected person is deported from or rusticated within the territory. Most Governors have agreed, and correspondence is proceeding in the outstanding cases."

3. EAST AFRICA

Comments by the British Press on the present situation in KENYA

The Nairobi correspondent of The Times (Oct 9, 52) wrote "The aims of Mau Mau are clear enough. While the Kenya African Union conducts a campaign above ground for political power and authority, the purpose of Mau Mau is to step up the pace of political change by menacing the authority of the Government and fostering trouble at all levels and by all means. It is unhappily true that the Kikuyu are suffering from too large a dose of civilisation and its freedoms administered too suddenly... A first essential in Kenya today is the restoration of respect for law and order. There must then be fuller study of social problems and needs, and an effort to strengthen the best elements in the African community."

DR. RITA HINNIE, commenting on this article in a letter to the Times (Oct 14, 52) urged that "some sort of reality of political advance" be made in Kenya, "not, as we do now, to give just sufficient to make Africans want more, and then say, 'Thus far, and no farther'. It is this tantalising attitude that causes the hatred and frustration on which the Mau Mau feeds. And not only does it stir up gruesome activities among the more primitive, but it puts rational Africans, who wish to participate responsibly in the country's life, in an impossible position, for they are unable to show they can satisfy the aspirations of their people by rational methods. The whole emphasis now should be on devising the sort of Constitution which enables each race to feel its interests are taken care of, and not to deprive one race of the few rights it has taken so long to secure..."

The Manchester Guardian (Oct 16, 52) reported "Mr. Eliud Mathu, leader of the African members in the Kenya Legislative Council.. said that African members of the Council felt it was right that the Government should first restore order but 'we feel such restoration is sure of gaining some permanency if more vigorous steps are taken at the same time to effect very necessary short-term reforms'." The African members suggested "The provision of more urban housing for Africans... The creation of senior posts in the administration and the Government for Africans... The giving of Queen's commissioned rank to Africans in the forces. The building of all-weather roads in African areas. The removal of restrictions on African public meetings. The end of discrimination against Africans in hotels and public transport. The establishment of a consultative body to deal with constitutional reforms. The re-examination by the proposed Royal Commission on East Africa, of the distribution of land among racial groups..."

On the following day the Manchester Guardian commented editorially, after expressing the hope that special attention would be given to these suggestions, "It is a common saying among thoughtless Europeans in Kenya that the Kikuyu, the people among whom alone Mau Mau flourishes, are suffering from 'too much civilisation'. That is what Mau Mau also believes... The African who feels himself a member of the new society which is evolving in East Africa, even if he is deeply dissatisfied with his part in it and determined to improve his place in it, is not a man to whom Mau Mau makes its appeal; he may possibly be terrorised into bowing to it if the hand of civilisation seems weak and inert. It is the man who feels himself utterly rejected, without hope of ever entering the glittering citadel, who turns back into dark and savage paths. It is the fatal canker of the doctrine of 'white supremacy' that it inspires and justifies that despair."

The Sunday Times (Oct 19, 52) said "We must beware. There are those in Africa, or hovering beyond it, who are ready to use any weapon to achieve their end, the overthrow of Western society", and having advocated learning from the lesson of Malaya, concluded, "The terror once broken, the larger problem remains - to lead the moving millions of Africa safely through the shadowed valley between an old order and a new. It is not a problem merely of regulation, let alone suppression, but one of construction and advance: giving to the African, to replace his old order, the opportunity to play such part as he progressively becomes fit to discharge in a partnership of all races having their homes in those lands."

The Daily Telegraph (Oct 20, 52) reported "Here round Nairobi chiefs have been superseded, not as in the Gold Coast by a political party however extreme, but by a secret society with which the Government have no contact whatsoever.

4.

"One consequence of this is the vitiation of political relations generally. Just as the meanest Kikuyu squatters have become objects of suspicion and fear, so have the most sophisticated African politicians and political organisations. The long-term policy in Kenya will no doubt be to devise some modifications of administrative practices. Some of these no longer suit this rapidly developing multi-racial society..."

The Observer (Oct 26, 52) in an editorial commented "The Kenya fire draws its fuel from three chief sources: land-hunger, the growth of a slum-living and often workless African proletariat in the towns, and the 'colour bar'. Land-hunger is to the African what unemployment is to the European. Six years ago an official report on conditions in the Kiambu district of the Kikuyu Reserve said that 40 per cent of its population was landless and gave warning that some 90,000 persons in Kiambu 'might become without means of support within a short time, something which cannot be faced with equanimity' ... It is officially stated that in and around Nairobi there are 10,000 African families living without proper shelter... many receive wages on which they cannot live... Force alone can suppress overt acts of violence, but only for a time... Tranquillity can be restored in Kenya only through the co-operation of the Government with the leaders of the African inhabitants, and the only way to obtain the co-operation of these leaders, and not to discredit them, is to give them proof that legitimate grievances are going to be met... There are some hopeful signs in Kenya, notably the emergence among the leading settlers of some liberally minded younger men. But the present constitution of the Kenya Legislative Council, in which Africans and Asians are badly under-represented, illustrates the need for political as well as social reform... The one hope for Kenya as a whole is that the Colony should develop, by gradual stages, into a multi-racial society offering justice and equal opportunity to all. That prospect may disturb some people, but it alone contains hope."

On arrival in Kenya, MR. OLIVER LYTTELTON (The Times, Oct 30, 52) said he was there to look to the future. The Royal Commission should be at work in January, and while in Kenya he would devote himself to three main tasks: "the completion of police measures... the initiation of measures to restore normal conditions... the long-term measures necessary to ensure the future happiness and prosperity of Kenya." With regard to the Kikuyu Independent Schools' Association, he said they had been "a major factor in spreading anti-European feeling among children. Many have been hotbeds of Mau Mau. It is not intended to close all, but only those where educational standards are low and which have been perverted to political uses." The "cleansing" of those who had taken the Mau Mau oath and restoring normal conditions would be proceeded with. He said "In some ways this is an anthropologist's rather than a policeman's war... Parallel to the reparation of normality in the reserves is the finding of some African leadership... Herein lies the importance of the formation yesterday of the provisional executive committee of the Kenya African Union under Mr. F.W. Odada, but unfortunately this does not appear so far as if it is prepared sufficiently to break with the past." Under long-term planning Mr. Lyttelton mentioned the need to give the African "a more solid stake in the country" by "the encouragement of private ownership of land and houses to transform African society" & the "raising of the status of the African in the Civil Service". He pointed out that in the most disturbed Kikuyu areas the few African administrative officers earned high praise during the emergency.

SIR EVELYN BARING, in opening the session of the Legislative Council, Oct 28, had said financial provision was being asked for an increase in the number of district officers, and outlined the following proposed developments:

- 1.. The expenditure of £6,750,000 on development and reconstruction...
- 2.. The complete reconstruction of the great trunk road to Uganda via Eldoret...
- 3.. Work on the Mombasa water project to supply Mombasa with 8 million extra gallons of water a day.
- 4.. The development of boreholes and game in the African reserves and Northern Province.
- 5.. The expenditure of £328,000 to continue general agricultural betterment in areas already settled, to settle Africans in areas freed of the tsetse fly and the provision of water and roads in those areas.
- 6.. The planting of trees.. at a rate of 6,000 acres a year.
- 7.. The intensification of welfare activities, such as community centres, schools, and village halls, for African forest 'squatters'.
- 8.. The construction of new hospitals, including...the completion of an infectious diseases hospital for all races in Nairobi; the reaction of a

"new European teaching hospital, the starting of work on a new African and Asian hospital in Mombasa, and the establishment of a number of health centres in African areas.

9.A vigorous housing drive...."

Other developments concerned oil exploration and a new airport.
(Manchester Guardian Oct 29, 52)

MBINYU KOINANGE, member of the Executive Committee of the Kenya African Union, said in London (Oct 29, 52) "While we welcome the latest statement by Sir Evelyn Baring which reveals a realization of the necessity for general, social and economic improvements in Kenya, we cannot feel that he has offered any fundamental political and economic reforms, nor that the concrete proposals in so far as they affect African conditions have been sufficiently comprehensive." He recommended that "if the African leaders are to have any effect in restoring confidence in the Government, they must be in a position to assure the people of concrete and immediate action along the following lines:

1. Release of African political, trade union and educational leaders, as well as all persons against whom no specific criminal charges have been brought,
2. Restoration of freedom of assembly and Press.
3. Re-opening of African Schools.
4. The establishment of a minimum wage.
5. The abolition by law of all racial discrimination.
6. Immediate introduction of an election system.
7. Universal compulsory education for all races.
8. Repeal of the Crown Land and the Native Land Trust Ordinances of 1938."

Debate in the House of Lords on Kenya

On Oct 29, LORD OGMORE called attention to events in Kenya. In the course of the debate all speakers deplored the crimes and violence and all supported the moves by the Government to restore law and order. LORD OGMORE questioned the leisurely replacement of Governors and the delay in sending a Royal Commission. He said "In a varying degree the causes of the unrest, it seems to many of us, are political, social and economic," and advocated "that we must not postpone action on progressive measures... education, agriculture, health and housing have to be dealt with, and the necessary improvements catered for in order to tackle the real problem underlying this campaign." He also thought "Her Majesty's Government should strengthen the hands of the moderates, who are having a most difficult time as this moment... I ask Her Majesty's Government to consider the suggestions made by the Legislative Council members, and also by the newly-formed Executive Committee of the Kenya African Union.... It may be necessary to arrange for the moderate opinion - Mr. Mathu and the others - to address meetings, which they cannot do at the moment. I think it is desirable as soon as possible to screen those who have been arrested, because there is reason to suspect that some, at least, have no sympathy at all with the Mau Mau. We want in some way to calm those Africans who are frightened... I suggest that the leaders of the communities - Mr. Blundell, Mr. Patel and Mr. Mathu - and perhaps Government representatives, should meet round the table.. and see whether the communities can form a proper basis for future action.... The Government should also relax those parts of the Emergency Regulations as soon as possible... They may alienate moderate opinion, or make it more difficult to take the action which they would like to take; and they may affect other tribes."

MURD MILVERTON entered "a plea against excessive speed in forcing races, who only yesterday emerged from savagery, along the untried roads of Western democracy..." Sir Philip Mitchell had pointed out that fifty years ago, when we arrived in Kenya, "there was not a road, nor a railway, nor a wheel; not a school, nor even an alphabet; no equipment save hoes, knives and axes; not a hospital nor a shop nor a business; no peace, nor any means or desire to enforce peace. Since then, as he says, we have been doing our best to emancipate them from insecurity, superstition, ignorance and ill-health and to bring peace and safety to their land... The only hope, as I see it, for a peaceful future in that country, lies in what is called qualitative democracy... the principle.. of equal rights for all civilised men; in other words, the aim of Sir Godfrey Huggins in Central Africa."

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL said "It is surely worth an effort to re-establish moderate African leadership. One cannot, of course, guarantee that their intervention would succeed, but it surely would be worth trying..." He hoped the Royal Commission would be competent to deal with the question of land use in the so-called White Highlands - "I am informed that some of it is either unoccupied or not properly cultivated... if this is the case, it would surely be right to turn out the bad farmers, as we do in this country. Any land available for development, either because it is not occupied, or because it is badly farmed, might be offered to African farmers. A gesture of this kind would surely show everyone that white farmers do not desire to monopolise this area of extremely fertile land..." He recommended inquiry into the whole problem of the provision of educational facilities for the African population and later said "It is no good talking of partnership unless we are prepared to practise it. There must be a gradual lifting of the many varieties of racial discrimination. It is the humiliation and resentment caused by colour bars.. which produce the dangerous and exclusive type of African nationalism... If the spirit of nationalism in Africa is to grow along healthy lines of racial co-operation, as we all desire, it must be recognised by the other communities as a force to be encouraged rather than checked... The future of race relations in East Africa is not a matter that will affect only the local communities and their relationship with the United Kingdom; it is a matter of profound concern to the whole British Commonwealth, and to the outside world..."

In his speech LORD TWEEDSMUIR said "No amount of reforms, no amount of concession, will ever affect the man who voluntarily joins such a society as (the Mau Mau), in the same way that no offer of a high standard of living, however high, will ever change the mind of the really convinced intellectual Communist... Though I am entirely in sympathy with what (has been said) about strengthening the hands of the moderates in every respect, yet we should make the gravest error if we were to make any apparent concession which could be construed as reacting to the terrorism of MauMau." He suggested better use of the land in Kenya, and attracting to the Colony as many secondary industries as possible. "It is my firm conviction that no one race alone can hope to see Kenya through her problems. It will be done only by the good will of moderate men of all races.."

LORD STRABOLGI thought there had been "a great deal of sensationalism and exaggeration about the unrest and violence, and that it has been made the excuse for these repressive measures by a certain section among the white settlers..." He said "this matter in Kenya is only one of many examples of a trouble that is already afflicting great parts of the world; and there will be more of it... Over most of Africa, in Asia Minor, and in large parts of the Continent of Asia itself, you have this revolt against poverty and racial discrimination, and particularly against the latter... It is the revolt of the Asiatic, the African, the Arab and the Indian against white European domination. In some cases it is unreasonable. In some cases it takes the form of blind xenophobia. In other cases it is more reasonable... What we must guard against is alienating those more moderate elements.. who can cooperate with us, with whom we should sympathise and whom we should assist, and who can assist us... If (the events in Kenya) are made an opportunity, to find out the real grievances which must exist amongst Africans in Kenya, and to seek to remedy them, there may be a happy outcome from this very unfortunate situation."

LORD HENNELL in the course of his speech, said if economic and sociological difficulties in Kenya were at the back of the Mau Mau upsurge, that was a subject which the Royal Commission should tackle - it was no answer to say that there ought to be Kikuyu settlement in the White Highlands. He hoped the Royal Commission would "not indulge in recommendations for constitutional reform which will, in the first place, delay the Report and, in the second place, be likely to engender false hopes.."

Replying for the Government, LORD MUNSTER outlined the situation, dealt with specific questions, and assured the House that the views expressed would be conveyed to the Colonial Secretary as soon as possible. He hoped to make a further statement on the return of Mr. Lyttelton. Meanwhile social and economic reforms would be proceeded with. In future there would be no interregna between change of Governors, and he also assured the House that the Chairman of the Royal Commission and its terms of reference would shortly be announced.

In his presidential address, MR. D.D. HURI, speaking to the East African Indian National Congress at Kisumu (Oct 11-13, 52) said "If we are to begin to believe, behave and act like citizens of one single country, and one single nation, then all communities must forthwith make a declaration of policy that ultimately they all believe in the achievement of a common roll to be the aim for them. For this reason, in future both inside and outside the legislature, the Indian community and its representatives should support both Europeans and Africans whenever their respective attitudes are conducive to the attainment of a common roll, and in other measures which are in the best interests of the Colony... Our aim should be to try and produce a common consciousness that all three races are an integral, indispensable and permanent part of the Colony."

MISS MARGERY PERHAM in an article on the "Conflicts and Ambitions in Africa", concludes "The effort of winning African cooperation will be great, above all for the European communities. New and horrible possibilities of violence are opening up. The proper line between maintenance of order and repression will be hard to draw. But those who are offering Christianity or higher education to Africans know very well that these can be fully shared only in a relationship of equality. This equality, already happily possible at the highest level, is surely the ideal, however distant, to be openly and urgently pursued, in every sphere. It is the only one for which Africans will work wholeheartedly with Britons... British Africa, divided and malleable until a few years ago, is now over large areas quickly hardening into self-realisation. Its new and scattered leaders may very soon draw together in the hope, which may not stop at British frontiers, that Africa, so long the slave, servant or beneficiary of other continents, shall, like them, become a continent in its own right, its peoples free to choose for themselves to which side of the world they will belong. If the present division in the world continues, with its balance of peoples, resources, and strategic space, the choice of the last uncommitted continent may be decisive for the future of our civilization." (The Times Oct 28, 52)

4. CENTRAL AFRICA

African Scheme for Constitutional Development

The NORTHERN RHODESIA AFRICAN CONGRESS have put forward a scheme for constitutional development towards "self-governing, multi-racial democracy in Northern Rhodesia". The scheme has four stages: a Legislature with equal numbers of African and European representatives, the Africans being elected on a separate voters' roll, and official members (who would include Africans and Europeans and who would represent the British Government) holding the balance of power. In the second stage Africans qualifying for the vote in increasing numbers would result in more Africans being elected to the Legislature. During the third stage, the first steps towards self-government would be made through a bi-cameral Parliament, with the Lower House initiating legislation and providing a Cabinet and an Upper House with power of veto: the 40 Members in the Upper House would include 20 representing Africans, 10 Europeans and 10 Indians and Coloured people. (Populations approximately 2 million Africans, and 40,000 Europeans, Indians and Coloured people.) In the final stage true multi-racial democracy would come. The details of this have still to be worked out, but a single voters' roll is envisaged with no racial differentiation in either of the Houses. Our correspondent reports that many Africans regard this as a most constructive and practical approach to the political problems of Central Africa and asks whether the British Government would accept it as a basis of discussion, or whether the settlers would turn it down as the work of 'nationalist agitators'.

Reports from Missionaries

Further opposition to federation has been expressed by missionaries. The Rev. JOHN KINGSWORTH of Mapanza Mission, Choma, in a letter to the Central African Post (Sep 18, 52) said "It has been answered that there are many precedents for imposing an unpopular scheme on an undeveloped people for their own good. But is there any real precedent for the action now proposed? Firstly, it is not certain that it is for their own good. Apart from specific doubts expressed both by Africans and Europeans, a political plan can never be certain of good results in the sense that, say, a scheme for contour ridges or vaccination against smallpox, can be. Secondly, opposition is vocal and practically unanimous. Those of us who, in the words of your leader, 'are a little out of the workaday Northern Rhodesian world'... live much further in the world of the African villagers, and as far as my observation goes, these are united in their opposition, and they understand the issue as much as the average voter in, say, England, understands what he votes about..."

Commenting editorially, the Central African Post (Sep 25, 52) said: "Surely in a democracy such as Britain's there are numerous examples of State policy having been imposed on groups of people...If we were imposing something on Africans which would be detrimental to them we would not have an easy mind, but..we cannot see what a single African has to fear from it."

Another missionary, writing from Northern Rhodesia, describes a meeting with a large rural branch of the African Congress, the majority of whom were Christians. "They evinced a thorough grasp of the draft federal scheme, comparable at least, I should say, to the knowledge of the members of that small section of the British electorate who have been following the subject not just in the press but in Parliamentary official reports and journals. I have had ample confirmation of this in many conversations outside Congress membership.... My experience in this respect is irreconcilable with what Mr. Hopkinson is reported to have said. One of us must be wrong." Those at the meeting were teachers, clerks, peasants, drivers and labourers.

The BLANTYRE MISSION COUNCIL have issued a statement in which they express concern that the Minister of State on his visit to Nyasaland gave "the opinion that the African opposition to Federation is not as solid as this Council has represented in statements that reached him from Edinburgh. Since his visit members of Council have verified the facts and see no reason to modify in any way their former statements. It is a complete misapprehension to suppose that the opposition is confined to a politically minded minority. As missionaries we are surprised at the

"knowledge of the issues involved in Federation shown by ordinary Africans. Their opposition is not to details of the scheme, but to the whole principle, and it is for this reason that they refuse to discuss details.... The Council is also concerned at the impression which the Minister of State has formed with regard to intimidation. We are not satisfied with the evidence given... If intimidation exists, why has not the appropriate police action been taken? Reports of pressure and bribery from the other side were current long before those of intimidation by anti-federationists. Unless the charges of intimidation can be proved by court action, they should not be used for the purpose of influencing public opinion, since whatever effect this might have on British public opinion, we know the danger of suggesting to Africans such political tactics..."

"Discussions on Federation have increased racial antagonism so that there is no chance of attaining that measure of racial partnership which is necessary to make Federation workable. We plead that a decision on Federation be delayed meantime, and that steps be taken to prove the sincerity of Europeans' desire for partnership. We urge that this be proved in the following ways:

- A. In order to prove that there will be no barriers to Africans who have reached a high cultural level, an early statement be made by the Government of Southern Rhodesia that the proposed Central African University shall be inter-racial socially and academically.
- B. That the pass-laws in Southern Rhodesia and the Copperbelt be modified to exempt many more Africans.
- C. That a statement be made with regard to the stages by which the franchise will be extended to more Africans.
- D. That industrial legislation in Southern Rhodesia and Trade Union Colour Bar Rules in the Copperbelt restricting the acquisition of skills be withdrawn.
- E. That African membership in the Legislative Councils of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland be increased to equal that of the European unofficial members.
- F. That a scheme of training be inaugurated to prepare Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to occupy official posts now held by Europeans.

The Strike in the Copperbelt

The Observer (Oct 19, 52) reported that "Behind the (African mineworkers) demand for an extra 2/8 a shift lies the real purpose of their action, which is to win the right for advancement to more skilled, and therefore better-paid, jobs, at present had exclusively by Europeans. The African miners' right to these opportunities was recommended in the Dalgleish Report, 1948... The European Mineworkers' Union, with its 4,000 members, has always stood in the way of the implementation of the Dalgleish Report. It has an agreement with the companies which prevents the black workers from advancing into more skilled occupations. The white Union professes itself ready to remove the barrier, but the alterations in the agreement it has so far suggested would not do so - though they sound plausible as local propaganda... The issue could be precipitated at once if the Government passed a measure making racially discriminatory agreements in industry invalid. This would be tangible evidence to the Africans of the Government's good faith, though it would not necessarily have the practical effect of getting the Africans into better posts. In the European strike which would inevitably follow, the companies and the Government are clearly strong enough to hold out until the Dalgleish principles are won. Such an act, while it would win African support, would probably make certain that which already appears likely; the rejection of federation by the European population of Southern Rhodesia on the grounds that alliance with the North will spread 'Colonial Office' principles to the South. If federation is to fail, it could not fail on a more honest issue."

Editorial comment on the strike in the Manchester Guardian (Oct 22, 52) concludes: "The Europeans have not lightly taken up their present position. But they must reflect now whether they can expect it to be tenable for ever, or whether - if they must at some time modify it - they will have the chance again to modify it with such beneficial effect."

Comments on Federation

SIR GODFREY HUGGINS, addressing a meeting at Gwelo (Sep 16) said "I believe we have a chance of rescuing this part of Africa for the Empire..

"I believed 28 years' ago that it was the right thing to develop a big British State in Central Africa." He pointed out that in the present state of world finance Southern Rhodesia's progress would be slowed in all respects unless she belonged to "something big enough to get other people interested".

Commenting on the Labour Party Resolutions (see Section 8), SIR GODFREY said he did not think the situation had been materially altered. "In the long run the people at home know as well as we do that if the Europeans of Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia decided to get together, there is nothing to stop them. MR. ROY WEINSTEIN said it would be wrong to place too much weight on the composite resolution passed to the Executive of the Labour Party. A decision as to whether there would be federation, as far as Britain was concerned, depended on the House of Commons, the majority of whose members, he believed, would support a scheme for federation. "I am convinced that Great Britain's chances of recovery depend to a considerable extent on the exploitation of the resources, mineral and otherwise, of Central Africa. In addition, I am sure that the creation of a strong British State in Central Africa is vital for the United Kingdom if she is to retain her influence on the African continent" he said.

Letters to the "Times"

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, in a letter to the Times (Oct 20, 52) said: "... federation or any other Christian solution of the problem will only be made possible by confidence between the races; and if Europeans and Africans are to trust one another both must show themselves worthy of trust. Africans must recognise the permanent presence in their midst of another race and seek by co-operation and steady effort to get the utmost of good from this partnership. Europeans must recognize the naturalness and, indeed, the frequent justifications of African suspicions and fears; and as members of the more developed race they have a special duty to make their good will and their true intentions of fair dealing evident... Yet, just at this moment, according to a report in The Times of Oct 13, Sir Godfrey Huggins, at a great meeting at Umtali on Oct 10, said that although he believed that the African Affairs Board should be accepted and he had no objection to it, he thought it rather like Gilbert and Sullivan, but without the music. He did not see that it could do any harm, and, if it were found that it was serving no useful purpose, they could get rid of it. Such a statement gives substance to the Africans' mistrust of the good faith of the European advocates of federation and must encourage them to doubt whether the scheme of federation provides them with any security at all."

The HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR SOUTHERN RHODESIA in London replied (Oct 25) "I think that in the Archbishop's anxiety to see that racial harmony suffers no setback he has read rather too much into the recent utterance by the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister... Sir Godfrey Huggins is perfectly frank in proclaiming his faith in the ultimate success of racial partnership, and it is because he is confident that, as its fruits become apparent, distrust between African and European will disappear; that he tells his people quite openly that ultimately the African Affairs Board will outlive whatever usefulness it may have at the present time."

Number of Voters in Southern Rhodesia

Provisional figures in Southern Rhodesia reveal that 46,682 - 7,719 fewer than at the end of November 1951 - have registered for the vote. Comparative figures are 45,458 Europeans (52,719 last year), 344 Asiatics (581), 501 Coloureds (639), 379 Africans (462).

African Higher Education

In November a Commission on African Higher Education will visit Central Africa. Its chairman will be SIR ALEXANDER CAIR-SAUNDERS, Director of the London School of Economics and Chairman of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education, and its members - Dr. A. KERR, Dr. A.V. HILL, and Prof. F.G. YOUNG. The Commission will make recommendations on the siting of a College for African higher education, on the courses to be provided, and the qualifications for admission, as well as advising on a draft constitution, staff requirements, etc.

5. SOUTH AFRICA

Comments by Nationalist Ministers

Die Transvaler (Sep 20, 52) a Nationalist newspaper, reported the Minister of Native Affairs, DR. H.F. VERWOERD, as saying at a Nationalist Party meeting in Pretoria that he was busy developing a new Bantu leadership among the Natives. These Bantu leaders would be glad to remain within their own circles and would act, as such, in opposition to the agitator-types who were working towards the destruction of their own people.

Mr. J.G. STYDOM, Minister of Lands, opening the Transvaal Provincial Congress of the Nationalist Party, said if the defiance campaign continued the Government would be forced to take steps, not only against those who defied the law, but against those who encourage them to do so - and cited the United Party and its Press amongst those who gave this encouragement.

Mr. ERIC IDUW, Minister of Economic Affairs, said in Harrismith that the law-breaking campaign had been "encouraged by a section of the Press and by the statements of certain politicians, Liberals and Anglican churchmen... It was easy to understand what effect this encouragement must have on the overwhelming majority of Africans, who were as yet hardly civilised, and in any case had the outlook of uncivilized persons..." (The Times, Oct 25, 52)

Liberals' Stand

The BISHOP OF JOHANNESBURG, MRS. MARGARET BALLINGER M.P., the REV. FR. TREVOR HUDDLESTON, CHIEF RABBI RABINOWITZ, the REV. J.B. WEBB (leading Methodist) ALAN PATON and JULIUS LEWIN were among twenty-two prominent South African liberals who signed a manifesto calling for a revival of the old Cape Liberal tradition in the Union. They said "that tradition was based on a firm principle, namely, equal rights for all civilised people, and equal opportunities for all men and women to become civilised. In our opinion, only the acceptance of that fundamental principle can provide the South African Government with the moral basis it now lacks... As an immediate short-term programme of reform we urge all who sincerely desire racial peace and harmony in our country to concentrate on demanding the repeal of the most mischievous measures on the statute-book. These are measures such as the Group Areas Act, the pass laws, and the Suppression of Communism Act in its present form..." (Rand Daily Mail, Sep 29, 52)

The Question of Race Conflict in South Africa at the United Nations

Whether this matter should be adopted as an item on the Agenda of the General Assembly was debated on Oct. 17, 1952. MR. JOOSTE (Union of South Africa), SIR GLADWIN JEBB (United Kingdom) and MR. CASEY (Australia) based their cases on Article 2 of the Charter which says inter alia that "nothing contained in the present charter shall authorise the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State". Mr. JOOSTE accused the Arab-Asian group of an "improper invasion of South Africa's most elementary rights as a sovereign, independent state", and later said it was difficult for him "to see how, by any stretch of imagination, conditions in South Africa can be regarded as a threat to international peace. Sir GLADWIN JEBB said "in the present state of international society it is simply not possible for any particular philosophy or morality to be imposed by one group of states on another state or group of states, however passionately such ideas may be held by the majority." He said he could think of nothing more clearly and obviously a matter of a country's domestic jurisdiction than the relationship which, as a matter of state, it has decided to maintain, rightly or wrongly, between persons of varying races living within its own borders, and MR. CASEY believed that "the mere discussion of (this matter) would do very great harm, as indeed I believe it has done great harm when the matter has arisen here at previous times... I do not believe that the Government of the Union of South Africa would be moved to amending its legislation, things being as they are, by a resolution of this body."

Speaking for the inclusion of this item on the agenda, MRS. PANDIT (India) pointed out that in 1950 the Assembly resolved a policy of racial segregation was necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination and "it will therefore be easily appreciated that in the item we now request

"replace on the agenda, domestic jurisdiction cannot be argued as a valid objection to inclusion," for that would "be tantamount to reversing the decision of the Assembly last year on the issue of the concern and competence of the Assembly in considering policies and problems of racial discrimination in Member States." MR. SANTA CRUZ (Chile) said "Since the signing of the Charter of San Francisco, all fundamental human rights have become part of international law because they are included in that multilateral treaty which is the Charter". Furthermore, Article 10 enabled the Assembly to discuss any matters "within the scope of the present Charter" and Article 14 states "Subject to the provisions of Article 12 (matters within the purview of the Security Council) the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations". Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq) considered the issue to be of such importance that it "cannot be minimized", "We shall have our shortcomings. No state can claim to be perfect...But we must all decide to do our utmost to follow the principles of the Charter. To move in a reverse direction and to legislate against the Charter is something which certainly deserves the grave consideration of the Members of the United Nations... If we think of the world as a whole and of the trends and currents that are moving in the world today, we will see how detrimental racial discrimination can be to international peace and unity.

The voting was as follows: Mexico, Norway, Philippines, Sweden, the United States, Brazil, Denmark, Egypt, Greece, the Asian Countries, the Middle Eastern countries, the Soviet bloc and others, in favour.

New Zealand, South Africa, United Kingdom, Australia, Colombia, France against.

Luxembourg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Turkey, Argentina, Belgium, Canada Dominican Republic, abstaining.

The item was placed on the Agenda by 45 votes to 6, with 8 abstentions
(A/PV. 381 of 17 Oct 52)

The Observer (Oct 19, 52) commented "The importance of the large vote in favour of placing South Africa's racial policies on the agenda...should be realised. The support of this proposal did not come only from those Asian and Arab countries which could be expected naturally to be in agreement with it; it also attracted the support of the United States and of the Scandinavian bloc. The abstention of Canada and of the Benelux countries was probably due less to disinterestedness than to their reluctance to oppose Britain in her championship of the South African case. The vote clearly shows that the overwhelming majority of the member nations do not fear that the United Nations Charter will be undermined by discussing the danger of racial discrimination to world peace. Now that the General Assembly has taken a firm stand on this subject, Britain should reconsider a policy that has landed her in the opposite camp to that of the United States and has failed to win the support of Western Europe. There is time for second thoughts before South Africa's racial policies come to be debated."

6. PROTECTORATES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

In Basutoland a scheme which has the enthusiastic support of the PARAMOUNT CHIEFTAINESS has been approved by the Commonwealth Relations Office with the intention of making Basutoland agriculturally self-sufficient. The scheme will cost £160,000 over four years, will be financed mainly by the Colonial Development & Welfare Fund and its "fundamental aim is to secure the widespread adoption of mechanised group farming through the voluntary co-operation of the Basuto peasants".

7. WEST AFRICA

Nigeria

MR. AWOLOWO, leader of the Action Group and member of the Western House of Assembly - the most significant political force to emerge in Nigeria in the last elections - is visiting India. West Africa (Oct 11, 52) describes him as a "rare political phenomenon - the leader of a party which

"within a year of coming to power has translated into legislation, or at least government policy approved by a legislature, the programme on which it was elected... The Western Regional Local Government Bill has been passed by both House of Assembly and House of Chiefs... The Minister of Education, Mr. Awokoya, was able to announce... that from 1955 education would be free and compulsory for five-year olds - there was some modification and the date was farther off than some enthusiasts had hoped but in principle the government again is pledged to what the party promised. The Public Health Policy ... approved by the House of Assembly may not conform in details to the 'Action Paper' on the subject, but like that document it is comprehensive, while free medical treatment, for all under eighteen (without spectacles and dentures) has already been introduced... The Sessional Paper on Agriculture approved by the Western House is comprehensive and wise... For veterinary services, forestry, co-operation, social welfare and other matters where regional governments have executive authority, the Western House of Assembly has approved far-reaching policies in keeping with the Action Group's pre-election statements."

In the course of a presidential address to the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, DR. AZIKIWE commented on the Macpherson Constitution which the N.C.N.C. had undertaken to give a fair trial. He said it was obvious this constitution must be fundamentally changed because it denied human rights and made a mockery of democracy in Nigeria. If the people were genuine in their criticism of the constitution, there was only one way open to them, that of positive action and if they were agreed that only by such action could they secure unity and freedom, then there was no need to count the cost - history would judge whether they were right or wrong.

Gold Coast

DR. KWAME NKRUMAH, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, made a statement on constitutional reform, as a result of talks between the Colonial Secretary and Gold Coast Ministers, in June, when Dr. Nkrumah and his Ministers expressed their wish for self-government within the Commonwealth. He put forward "points which would have to be considered by the Gold Coast chiefs and people. One was the position of the three ex-officio ministers - whether all or any of these would be retained or replaced by representative African Ministers. If the Finance Minister were replaced, the Gold Coast might need a financial adviser... Similarly, the Attorney-General, now holding the portfolio of Justice, might remain legal adviser to the Government, but be replaced as Minister of Justice by a representative African minister." (Manchester Guardian Oct 17, 52) Other implications would be that the Gold Coast was prepared to take over full responsibility for its own defence, at present mainly borne by Commonwealth armed forces, and also responsibility for direct representation in foreign countries with which it trades, and be able to protect its trade with foreign countries from discriminatory practices. "We are... embarking on an enterprise which imposes very heavy responsibility on all who participate" said Dr. Nkrumah. "The world, which is both critical and sympathetic, will watch with the closest attention how we deal with the problem.." (The Times, Oct 17, 52)

8. GENERAL

Resolutions at the Annual Conference of the Labour Party

The following resolution regarding CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION passed:

"This Conference, convinced that the decision of Her Majesty's Government about the proposed Federation in Central Africa... will be regarded both in this country and in Africa as the acid test of the sincerity of its Commonwealth Policy, and having grave doubts about the trends of present negotiations, resolves that there be no federation in Central Africa without education, full consultation, and agreement of the peoples in those territories."

A composite resolution was remitted to the National Executive:

"That this Conference wishes to place on record that:

(a) It is opposed to the incorporation of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland into the Union of South Africa unless it is the wish expressed democratically of the Africans of these territories;

14.

"(b) it is opposed to the Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland unless the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland agree to the plan of Federation;

(c) It is the opinion that to help the Africans of all these territories of British Southern Africa along the road to self-government, constitutions similar to that granted to the Gold Coast by the Labour Government be progressively but rapidly introduced."

Other resolutions remitted to the National Executive concerned South Africa, and the case of Seretse Khama.

Sermon by the Archbishop of York

At Morecambe the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK said that Christianity was opposed to all attempts to segregate either races or classes. "The purpose of a democratic State which accepts the ideals of Christianity should be to promote the highest possible development of the largest possible number of its citizens. The Christian doctrine of man is opposed to the claim that there are master races which have the inherent right to rule races which are backward." (Natal Mercury, Sep 29, 52)

Colonial Research Council

The Annual Report for 1951-2 was published this month. A significant point is that the Council, in presenting the report to the Colonial Secretary, points out that it is much concerned with "the increasing difficulties arising from the uncertainty regarding the provision of further Colonial Development & Welfare Funds after the present Acts expire in March 1956. This is not only rendering the planning of long-term research impossible but is also a most adverse factor in the way of recruiting research workers for the Colonial territories. The Council sincerely trust that the position will be clarified at the earliest possible date."

New Method of Technical Assistance by U.N.

"A distinct change in the United Nations approach to the practical problems of technical assistance to underdeveloped areas has been making itself felt (in Geneva) during a series of meetings on rural electrification. The new method of collective advice by developed countries may well replace the old United Nations system that in many minds is associated with misdirected experts and misguided programmes.... Once underdeveloped countries have expressed a preference for one of the systems described in the reports (submitted by fourteen countries to the Electric Power Committee) it will be up to the commercial firms in the developed country concerned to arrange to send out experts to prepare specific plans. Only then will underdeveloped countries be able to decide what financial assistance will be required and from whom it should be sought." (Manchester Guardian Oct 28, 52)

6. APPENDIX - The PROTECTORATES

Bechuanaland Protectorate

The Times (Oct 32 52) announces the appointment of a mission of experts who include Colonel LAURENS VAN DER POST, TSHEKEDI KHAMA and CHIEF BATHOEN, who will explore the possibilities of cattle-raising in the western part of Bechuanaland. The mission is headed by MR. ARTHUR GAITSKELL, lately managing director of the Gezira Cotton Board in the Sudan.

4. APPENDIX - CENTRAL AFRICA

(Oct 15)

In a speech to Members of the House of Commons, Mr. GODWIN LEWANIKIKA, Chairman of the Kitwe Federation Committee, and former President of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, said "There is one point I would like to make clear. It is not true to say that there is division amongst the Africans in their opposition to Federation. The opposition is solid and unanimous. We leaders only differ in methods of opposing it... There have also been suggestions that Africans have been intimidated into opposing Federation. That is not true. We have made it quite clear that all people are free to say what they feel, but personally speaking, I have not yet come upon an African, educated or uneducated, who likes Federation." The Central Africa Post (Sep 18, 52) described Mr. Lewanika as "a decent Christian man who likes the British, and will not gladly tolerate any misrepresenta-

9 ACTIVITIES OF THE AFRICA BUREAU

LORD HEMINGFORD, who recently returned after 26 years in Uganda and the Gold Coast, where he was latterly Principal of the Achimota Teacher Training College, has accepted the Chairmanship of the Bureau, and LADY PAKENHAM is the Vice-Chairman.

The REV. MICHAEL SCOTT received a transit visa to attend the United Nations from the United States Embassy on Oct 10, and left for New York the following day. He is attending the U.N. as consultant for the International League for the Rights of Man.

On October 9, the Bureau held its inaugural public meeting at the Assembly Hall of Church House. LADY PAKENHAM explained that the meeting had a triple purpose - to put problems concerning Africa, to rouse British public opinion to its responsibility ("It is not only necessary to press with our own Government and Parliament, but in the United Nations too"), and to introduce the Africa Bureau.

MICHAEL SCOTT described the tremendous advance man has made in technical discoveries, the increasing irresponsibility of the individual, and the loneliness of man, and said that our actions should be informed both by our thoughts and by our prayers. He spoke of Britain's responsibilities in Central and East Africa, and of the challenge to the Christian conscience made by the disciplined campaign of non-violent civil disobedience in South Africa. "The crucial test of our time is the building of what is called a plural society... It is a task which can only be fulfilled by retaining the confidence of the African people, by far-sightedness wedded to technical proficiency, and by a strong adherence to principles and good faith in all our dealings". The Africans were watching Britain's attitude towards the questions of South West Africa and the Protectorates very carefully. "When Sir Gladwyn Jebb, on behalf of the people of this country, makes legal arguments... when he omits to mention South Africa's moral obligations as a trustee, he does very little for Britain's good faith with the Africans." In conclusion, he asked why Chief Hosea Kutako should be prevented from addressing a congregation in St. Paul's Cathedral. "Why be afraid to hear that old man's story?... In that story the history of civilisation in that part of Africa is bound up. The Africans should be allowed to state their own case themselves.."

PETER ABRAHAMS described returning to the Union after 14 years in Britain, and concluded "Unless the whites face up to what colour prejudice does to the hearts and minds of black people, no amount of wise parliamentary legislation, economic planning or social work is going to be a substitute for a man wanting to size himself as a man. If I may humbly suggest it to all working for the African's cause, what he wants is not somebody working for him, but giving him an opportunity to do something for himself... What you can do something about is this - show them that it is not necessary to fight against democracy in order to be free. Don't think in terms of 'uplift' for the Africans. The change is coming..."

Putting the case against federation in Central Africa, MR. CREECH JONES said it had been presented on the false assumption that there was a common policy between Southern Rhodesia and the two Northern territories in Native affairs.... "I submit that, faced with African opposition, and the unanimity of African opinion, it is politically foolhardy to drive through a policy of this kind... Until the Africans have reached political maturity to play a part in the political life, it would be a betrayal of their interests to force federation through". The constitution, which only the European majority in the federal parliament could amend, and the safeguards, were unacceptable, he said, and pointed to alternative ways of handling the problem: of closer association along lines that would meet the majority African view - possibly a High Commission as in East Africa..

Concluding, LORD HEMINGFORD said we had taught the things we knew and loved in Africa - "they have included democracy, and we have no right to be surprised, rather we should be gratified, that our pupils have desired to follow the way of democracy... When the Gold Coast gets full dominion status the people of Uganda will not say, we had education 50 years later, we must wait 50 years. Nor will the people of Kenya say, the Gold Coast is protected by tsetse and the mosquito, and has few Europeans, but we live in a plural society, and therefore we cannot expect to have the same human rights as those accorded to people in the Gold Coast. Sooner or later nothing less than full human rights for every individual must be given, and things are happening in Africa sooner rather than later... What can we do to help Africa to choose a

"a way of freedom which will also be a way of cooperation, of peace? We can pray - we can pray that there is established between us a family feeling - that all of us in both continents shall learn lessons of sympathy and mutual understanding, that the spirit of the family shall permeate and sweeten our relations. We can do more, we can befriend the African within our gates, and we can see that so far as possible we will bring pressure to bear on the Government that we elect to see that, as Michael Scott says, Africans get the opportunity to speak for themselves, and to do things for themselves. We can also see that problems such as that of Central African federation, are studied... We shall need to face these problems with courage, patience, forbearance and frankness - for no African worth his salt wants sweet nothings - and these virtues only come through understanding and it is that understanding which our Bureau seeks to receive and to pass on."

5. ADDENDUM - SOUTH AFRICA

Question on British Delegation's Instructions at U.N.

On 30 Oct 52 Mrs. EIRENE WHITE (Labour) asked what further instructions had been given to the United Kingdom delegate to the U.N. Assembly on the subject of racial discrimination in South Africa, which had been placed on the agenda. MR. J. FOSTER (Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations) replied: "As I stated in reply to the hon. Member for South Ayrshire (Mr. Emrys Hughes) on 23 October, the view of the U.K. Government is that the subject matter falls outside the competence of the U.N. and the instructions to the U.K. delegate make it clear that the U.K. Government therefore regard any debate on the substance of the matter as entirely irregular."

MRS. WHITE: "Can we take it from that reply that the U.K. delegate will take no part whatever in any debate upon this subject? Further, if our delegate should take any part can the Minister give us an assurance that he will neither say anything nor vote in such a way as to imply that Her Majesty's Government approves of policies which are abhorrent to the majority of our fellow citizens in the Commonwealth?"

MR. FOSTER: "That is mostly another question, but I can say that Her Majesty's Government will regard any debate on the merits as entirely irregular, and will not accept it as a precedent for the interpretation of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter."

MR. J. GRIFFITHS (Labour): "In view of the constitutional position which, I understand, the Government are taking up, does the Minister not think that that makes it all the more imperative that we should say that we will not ourselves favour any such policy or practice in the Colonies or territories for which we are responsible?"

MR. FOSTER: "No. The question with which we are concerned at the moment is one of competence."

MR. BRAINE (Cons.): "Is this not rather important? Having regard to the nature of the Commonwealth, is not the only way of dealing with a matter of this kind to ensure that we set a good example in the territories under our own control?....."

MR. FOSTER: "That is another question. We are discussing here the question of competence and I have answered it."

NOTES: Would those writing to the Bureau kindly indicate whether extracts from their letters can be published in a 'Correspondence' column.

Would those reproducing original statements or articles from this Digest kindly credit the Africa Bureau as the source.

